1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Weapons.—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

Pottery.—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

78
628 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage
626 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community, sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members
[522] of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and Initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.

885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage,
551 when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work. Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child.
888 The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

/27 cont./

582 4. The marriage of Karaya women to foreigners is permitted only when the latter allow themselves to be adopted into the tribe and take up permanent residence in the village concerned, a case which in Castelnau's time was not at all rare, but could hardly occur today.

593 Although the husband is naturally in charge as head of the
562 family, the position of the wife is a completely honorable one. There is no trace of the degradation of women into beasts of burden, as has been falsely imputed for all Indians by analogy with the North American tribes. Certain tasks, to be sure, are performed exclusively by the women and they are tireless in fulfilling their manifold duties. The man, too, however, has his share to perform. His wife is his complete equal; he does nothing of importance without her advice. Even the chief shares his honors with his wife. Mistreatment of women is unheard of.

595 Monogamy is the usual thing. The husband, however, not uncommonly finds it necessary to take a second wife when the [582] first one becomes too old. This is conditioned by the peculiar [171] custom, widespread, it seems, among all South American tribes (2), that the young men court older women and the old

[113] 2. Cf. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 223.

men younger ones. Perhaps the relatively small number of children can be traced to this.

847 Artificial abortion occurs, but only on the demand of the husband. It is brought about by pressing the uterus together with the hands and is said to cause death not uncommonly.

586 If married people do not get along, the husband is allowed
587 to trade off his wife for that of another. Anyone who repudiates his wife cannot marry again, but is allowed to have a housekeeper.

684 The husband himself punishes an adulterous wife by a beating or burning her with glowing wood. Sometimes (3) the guilty one

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Selvagem, p. 116.

is said to be even burned to death.

/36 cont./

535 532 825 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.

3. The mask of a black bird (tirehãn) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

[184] The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these. Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and pirarucú (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuira (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

520 535 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after productive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting.

[533] [198] Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in connection with them, which are handed down from father to son, are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] [533] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoñ he, heiyoñ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[562] [532] [196] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers, since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

/37 cont./

[597] [535] The festival begins with a procession of the masks through the village. The participants dress in the nearby forest and approach with a loud han hm han. Then everybody cries: nakunerare! There they come!

During the procession the masked men throw sticks of wood in all directions. After they have withdrawn, everything is readied for the feast and drinking bout, until after a few hours the dancers approach again and the dance begins. Like that of the duck-duck, it consists of an odd hopping. The dancer is not permitted to let himself be recognized in any way; he [688] may neither speak nor cough or sneeze, and particularly not fall. Otherwise, as in the case of the duck-duck and the Northwest American hametz, he is killed immediately.

If he finds it necessary to cough, which in view of the stifling heat in his masquerade is not uncommon, of course, he jumps into the circle of men standing about, who cover up his voice by likewise coughing.

The dances take place in a certain sequence; it is the chief who decides which one is to be at the beginning.

[532] [535] [562] [688] If a woman enters the secret hut out of curiosity or otherwise takes advantage of an opportunity to see the mask costumes, she is punished by death.

Usually the other women then bring a petition to the chief. The latter lets mercy prevail if the guilty one promises silence and is willing to undertake a task of atonement, which usually consists of weaving a riio or making a large buriti mat. If she refuses or if the work is not satisfactory, a place in the forest is pointed out to her, and she must appear there at a certain [839] time. She is forced to yield to the men assembled there. If she does not appear, the latter have the right to kill her wherever [766] they find her. The corpse of the guilty one is sunk in the river. [778] No one may enter the hut of the victim, however, since this is considered a sanctuary.

In the same way a man who betrays the secret to a woman is declared an outlaw.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Sambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
776 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[191] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
532
716
825

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
562 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
115 dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
793 such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

793 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
199 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

793 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

/200 cont./

514 water about 5/4 meters deep with their knees slightly bent and there untie the long penis string and tie it on again.

342 [252] The houses are merely living and sleeping houses; cooking is done outside.

[202] The chiefs in part have better built, larger houses; thus, Plate 41 appears here/ /201/ the one belonging to Chief João III was three to four meters high, five to six meters wide, and equally long (Pl. 39).

[344] [203] There are no meeting houses; in order to bring about a decision or announce regulations, the chief goes to the individual houses.

Other special houses are:

343 847 1. Birth houses. These are erected for the woman when birth is imminent; their construction is said to be identical with that of the other houses.

2. The mask house in which the dance masks are kept. It always stands apart from the village and in its method of construction is a dry-season house with a round structure on the narrow side turned toward the village. The arches are usually slightly curved and strengthened on top by a ridge beam (Pl. 12, Ill. 3). The mask houses serve as bachelor houses; the young people are said to sleep here. I saw only four mask huts, but cannot confirm 513 these statements from my observations. In any case, the young people do not sleep in the houses, but rather, if there is no mask house, [209] by a fire which is away from the village. Strangers are given shelter by the chief; they sleep in his house, even though they are unmarried (see the reception which I, with my men, found among the Šavajé /pp. 129 ff. in the first part of the work, which is omitted in the translation/).

342 423 562 768 The house belongs to the woman. The man builds it before the marriage, with the assistance of the young people, who are paid for it by the woman with chains of beads. The construction takes one or two days. After death the house is said to be burned.

821 According to the accounts of the Indians, the houses are protected from bolts of lightning by a fish spine stuck on the roof on a pole about half a meter long. Probably only magic is involved here.

[Text continues on P. 84]

/281 cont./

412 Brazilian inhabitants, to be noted. This shows us how tenaciously
178 the Karajá cling to their nationality, in spite of long association with their civilized neighbors.

311 C. The exploitation of the natural kingdom varies in intensity; the mineral kingdom is exploited least, the vegetable kingdom, which can, of course offer the Indian the most abundant resources, the most.

135 The mineral kingdom is as yet little utilized. Stones are rare in the alluvial valley of the Araguaya; at most there is small rubble on a few sandbanks; otherwise fine sand covers the river valley. On the steep vertical banks there is canga, a ferrous sandstone which cannot be utilized except perhaps in larger pieces which, with plaiting around them, serve as anchors for turtle tackle. Stones are found only north of the Tapirapé, and all of the few stone implements that were present came from there.

317 More frequently used is the gray clay which is embedded in
323 narrow layers in the sandstone of the high banks. It is used for pottery. This art, however, in its technique and form, is still very primitive; ornamentation is entirely lacking. The vessels are shaped according to their practical use; they are made by
562 the women. Apparently the women are more practical and less artistically endowed than the men, for we find everywhere that the things made by the women are simple and practical, those by the men, by contrast, show pleasing forms and ornamentation.

317 Earths are also but little utilized as colors.

237 The animal kingdom is utilized somewhat more intensively for technical purposes by the Indians. Bones and teeth of mammals are worked into tools and ornaments; mussel shells serve as implements. The bird kingdom is most abundantly drawn upon: their brilliant feathers are used for magnificent ornaments such as
235 scarcely any other Indian tribe displays in this abundance. In order to have the material for this always at hand, the Indians keep young birds, taken from the nest, tamed in their huts in order to
237 pluck them from time to time. The wax of bees plays an important role as gluing material.

/322 cont./

624 but mostly men who understand a little Brazilian and, as a result,
191 act as intermediaries in dealings with the boatmen (for example, Ilk).

622 During my stay at the mouth of the Tapirapé I observed
571 that there may also be rivalry between chiefs. On the downstream journey, in Village No. 18, I met two chiefs, the good-natured old tribal chief Cyriãki and a so-called capitão, the energetic, feared Chico Cadete. Of the two, Cyriaki had the more dignified bearing, though he had no following in the village; Cadete ruled there absolutely, so that Cyriãki was left entirely in the background. On the upstream journey I met the [939] village in the act of undertaking a trading expedition to Santa Maria. When I returned from my navigation of the Tapirapé, I found Cyriãki in the village on the mouth of the Tapirapé. He had moved from Village 18 on account of disputes with Cadete and had settled here in Village 17.

622 The privileges enjoyed by the chiefs for their administration of office are the following: They do not work in the plantings; they do not hunt, and they fish only for tokunaré, pintado, and pirarucu, besides tartaruga and tracajá. They are not subject to any restrictions in diet. They may have several wives, who live together in their houses; there is no chief wife. Their houses are built by the villagers; they are sometimes larger and higher than the other houses.

[562] If the chief is absent, he entrusts the leadership to his wife his son also seems to represent him frequently.

The chief is educated for his position from infancy on. After an ablution with hot water, he lives for four years shut in a special hut; here he learns from his father the dances and dance songs, the administration of justice, and whatever else is necessary for his office. He may already pronounce decisions, which are announced through his father. In return he is given arrows, stones for lip plugs, and similar things as gifts. The apprenticeship ends with a large festival.

[562] The chief's successor is his son. If he only has daughters, one of them becomes chief (hauĕkĕ, dĕrōdi). If she marries,

/325 cont./

584 and the suitor must also work for the father-in-law (?). During the engagement, the bridegroom, along with the young men, builds the house. This subsequently becomes the property of the woman, who, after the wedding, pays off the builders. The bride, however, apparently provides the furnishings, the sleeping mats, pots, etc.

585 I obtained only unclear reports about the wedding ceremony. Thus, the grandfather is said to carry the bridegroom, painted and adorned, into the house of the bride and back again. The suitor, accompanied by the young men, fetches the woman and leads her into the new house. There they cut off each other's leg bands and remove their arm cuffs for the duration of the marriage. According to another statement, however, the bride cuts off the calf bands of the man; the mother of the man, however, those of the bride. The bridal journey takes place without luggage. Only after the couple have arrived in the house does the husband have the property of the bride brought and take charge of them.

595 [620] In general the Karajá have only one wife at a time; only the chief may have simultaneously several wives who live together in his house. As has been said above, there is no chief wife, but many quarrels are said to take place among them. When the wife grows old, the husband may send her away and marry a second, younger woman. This is based on the fact that only the older girls are left over for the young men, and that, when these grow too old, they then turn to the young girls.

593 562 The position of the wife is very good. The house, the furnishings, and the boat belong to her; the husband simply lives with her. She also gives her opinion in all matters. The husband takes on all the hard work: laying out the plantings, carrying the harvest home, hunting and fishing. The wife must do the lighter work in connection with planting and harvesting and take care of the housekeeping. The two are seldom idle. The men do not 589 like to do the heavy work. At any rate, the young men, for fear of it, do not want to marry and postpone marriage as long as possible, misled, chiefly, by a few old bachelors. The carefree bachelor's life is, of course, free of all work; one does only what

/343 cont./

192 north horde. With Ehrenreich's Karajá words and Castelnau's
184 Sambioá words and Coudreau's Karajá words my records show
[114] correspondences as well as differences. The latter probably go back in part to misunderstandings on both sides, as may be definitely proved in a few cases. With regard to the Šavajé language, there are several very striking differences, the reason for which is as yet unknown.

197 The language of the Karajá, for the time being, is still to be regarded as isolated; the few agreements with Ge languages do not, for the present, justify our counting it among these.

192 From the beginning I followed up the differences between
126 the men's dialect and the women's dialect, which Ehrenreich (1)
● 562
[113]

1. "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens /Materials for Brazilian Linguistics/": I. Die Sprache der Caraya (Goyaz) /The Language of the Caraja (Goiáz)/. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 26, 1894, p. 23.

discovered, and in this way obtained a great number of women's words. Those from the south horde were obtained directly from women, those from the north horde from men. The latter were able to say many words immediately; often, however, they reflected a long time before they found the word. It is doubtful whether they always gave the proper word; in any case, the women's words from the north horde should be taken with some
[191] caution. The men described the language of the women as ibinãli = very poor. They maintained that the two sexes did not understand all of each other's expressions, but that there were words which were foreign to the other sex. My records have so
194 far not confirmed this assertion. The chief difference is that in
562 the women's language a k is inserted where, among the men two vowels stand next to each other; the initial k of the wom[illegible] is omitted among the men. Ehrenreich gives a few further

/343 cont./

194 modifications (2). That the omission of k is regarded as the

562 [191]

2. Ibid., p. 24.

chief characteristic /344/ of the men's language may be illustrated by a joke of Pedro I. Pedro said one day that my companion Adam was a woman because he says sakuba (= jacuba, the Brazilian name for a drink made of farina, rapadura /Port., a form of sugar/, and water); if he were a man, he would have to say šăŭbă. Probably the women's dialect with a fuller sound represents an older form of the language. For there can be no question here of a different language which could have originated through the taking in of women captured from alien tribes during [127] battle. First of all, the taking of alien women (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Šavajé) is too limited for their language to be a possible influence; on the other hand, the deviations from the men's language are too slight to permit viewing the women's language as of foreign origin.

194 In speaking, many syllables are swallowed, especially at the end of words; the mouth is only slightly opened, so that a soft, indistinct speech is produced. Yet they are able to make themselves understood in a whisper far over the water. The intonation is slightly singsong, the manner of speaking uneven. Sometimes the syllables are uttered in rapid succession, then again a syllable is drawn out at length, just as though the speaker were considering how to express himself further. And this goes on in confused alternation, a way of speaking which the Brazilians greatly like to imitate. Perhaps the custom of pronouncing short-ending words long in compounds (mānắ -- mănāūlắ, mănādjū́, etc.) goes back to this.

195 In conversations among themselves the listener accompanies the speech of the other with many nde, nde (= yes), hm̃, hm̃, or he repeats the last word of every sentence. In communicating with Brazilians they like to start the sentences with ăhĭ́ (= there) and to ask after every explanation: săbĕ́ (= understand?). In

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

clubs and lances, various kinds of clay pots and pans and gourd-shell vessels occupy the corners of the hut. 353

A short distance from the encampment is the "Casa do Bicho," or medicine hut; or better yet, the Demon Hut. It is roofed and closed in on three sides only. The side facing away from the village is always left entirely open. The women of the tribe are not allowed to go near this hut, or to look into it. In front of two Sambiõa villages, two dead kingfishers were secured to the top of a high pole, for the purpose, probably, of keeping away the demons. 346 [562] 825

The Karayá have a few domestic, or domesticated creatures. These are considered members of the family, and live in and out of the family hut, and on equal terms generally with the people. These children of Nature are evidently lovers of Nature, and their mode of life can scarcely be conceived of without these creatures. The way they treat them indicates the idea they entertain regarding them and their doings—that they look upon them as their companions and equals. The feeling of companionship—even of relationship—with the animal world, is characteristic of the Karayá, and is evidenced by the way the animals are spoken of in their tribal legends, and by the fact that they have quite a treasury of animal fables. Although these people are successful in taming wild creatures, they have never made any economic use of them as have the civilized people. They are captured while still young, and reared, but for no purpose, in most cases, other than to be kept as pets and esteemed members of the families of their captors, where their presence seems to give much pleasure. They are seldom thought of as regards any material benefits they may confer. The only economic use that is made of any of these creatures, is of those that have bright-colored plumage, which is used in the making of the many feathered adornments that are so much admired by these primitive people. Nor are these animals permitted to multiply themselves, if this can be avoided. Some poultry is kept, which was obtained originally from the "civilized" Brazilians, and these, of course, multiply rapidly. But even 231 825 [538] 231 [237] 235 [197]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

527 535 through the encampment, who, having previously stolen away to the jungle and secretly donned their uncouth regalia, suddenly appear; and with a loud cry—"Han hm! Han hm!" rush toward the village, while all the villagers ejaculate loudly, in reply, "Nakum rare! Nakum rare!"—Here they come! Here they come! The procession is almost riotous, for the men throw billets of wood about in every direction. The parade over, all these imitation birds, bugs and beasts, or the materialization of their ghosts, retire again to the thicket, remove their gear, and becoming real men once more, quietly, reënter the village, and the savage banquet is brought on.

After some hours of "eating and drinking and making merry," the masqueraders again rush forth from the woods to begin the dancing. It consists of a peculiar hopping, turkey-step, and rocking the body from side to side. The dancer must not, under any circumstances, permit his real identity to be- [688] come known to the spectators. He must not speak, nor cough, nor sneeze; and above all, he must not allow himself to stumble and fall, for if he does, he will be immediately put to death. If he should be compelled to cough or sneeze, as frequently happens because of the dust and the suffocating heat under his mask, he springs into the group of men standing near, all of whom begin instantly to cough, and thus contrive to drown his voice.

The various dances follow each other according to a programme arranged beforehand by the chief of the encampment, who presides over the ceremonies and festivities.

535 If a woman of the tribe should enter one of the secret 567 mystery huts, or should avail herself of an opportunity to look 688 upon a masquerade outfit when not in use, she will be punished with death. It is usual, in such cases, for the other women to intercede with the chief for her life, and he will exercise mercy in her behalf if she will promise silence and will undertake some work of expiation, such as to weave a *hammock*, or braid a large, palm-leaf mat. If she should refuse to do this, or her work should prove unsatisfactory, she will

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods when the sun reaches a certain position in the heavens, and here she will be compelled to submit herself to the assembled men. If she should fail to appear as ordered, the men may slay her wherever they find her and sink her body in the river. But if she should flee to the mystery hut, no one will enter to take her for this is an asylum of refuge. If a man should betray the secret of the masquerade to a woman of the tribe, he may, nevertheless, be allowed to go unmolested. But these barbarous customs do not appear to be so strictly observed to-day as in former times. It is related that owing to an accident, all the women of a certain village, caught sight at the same moment of the masquerade outfit when not in use. In this case, of course, nothing could be done but to pardon them all and make known to them the whole secret. It is said that among the Sambiða, these masquerades are falling somewhat into disuse. Nevertheless, they would not allow Dr. Ehrenreich and his party to bring away the masquerade outfits that they had stumbled upon at a spot in the woods where they had been thrown at the termination of a festival, as they feared that some of their women might be in the vicinity and see them. To get permission to take them, the men of the party had to dress in them. Though these customs may be less strictly observed to-day than formerly, nevertheless, the women cherish a profound respect for these supposed creatures of the forest and their mysterious hiding-places.

535 562 688 [708] 535 [198] [126]

The masquerade outfits seem to be thrown away, or burned, at the conclusion of a festival, the feather decorations having first been removed.

Of the real significance of these masquerades, little or nothing is known, or perhaps ever will be known. It is doubtful if even the savages themselves are fully conscious of their significance. But we may get some light upon the subject from our knowledge of the customs and beliefs of other primitive peoples.

It is certain that the "make up"—the creature, animated [825]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

535
885 object, or apparition, that rushes forth from the forest to parade and dance—is supposed to be the materialization of the spirit, or double, of the creature indicated. The animals represented are always either game animals, or those that play a certain rôle in the tribal legends, such as the stork, the alligator and the electric eel. In accordance with a similar idea, [171] the aborigines of North America were accustomed to hold buffalo and bear dances for the purpose of inducing the spirits of these particular animals to send their own kind to earth in abundance.

The Karayá have other dances, which are held in honor of animals regarded as ancestors, or to which some mythological significance is attributed. There may be similar reasons for the masquerades. The Karayá may believe, moreover, that by these festivities, they are cultivating the favor of the game animals.

535
562 When the men are asked why they keep from their women the secret of the real character of the masqueraders, they always, without exception, reply that the women are not allowed to see and know everything because they talk too much. The belief that the authority and superiority of the men over the women must be maintained and fortified, is quite evident wherever the mystery festivals are held.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

These costumes are made and kept guarded in a wigwam at some distance from the village, and at the conclusion of the festivities are destroyed. Covering the entire body as it does, the masquerade completely conceals the identity of the dancer, who must not under any circumstances reveal his identity to the women onlookers.

Women and children are merely spectators and are never permitted to view the dress except when it encases the form of the dancer. The women of the tribe apparently cherish a profound respect for

FIG. 43.—A personator in the Fish Dance.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

535 this ritual and never seek to penetrate its mysteries.
562 At any rate they seemed to keep at a distance from
[346] the sacred wigwam where the men ate and drank in tribute to the sacred fish.

535 Should a woman, however, so far forget her posi-
562 tion as to enter this mysterious hut or should avail
627 herself of an opportunity to look at this mystery dress, she may be punished by death. Executive clemency is granted by the chief, at the request of the women of the tribe, providing she will promise silence and expiate her crime by some appointed work. If she should refuse, she will be ordered to appear at a designated spot in the woods, at a certain height of the sun, where she will find assembled a group of warriors. Failing to comply with their desires, she may be killed and the body thrown into the river. Should she flee to the
[348] sacred wigwam, however, this being sanctuary, she goes free at the termination of the festivities to resume her place in society.

126 Wishing to preserve the costumes as a memento
535 of my visit among them, I asked the chief if I might take them with me. Reluctantly he consented, and ordered his men under cover of darkness to take them in a canoe down the river and await my coming. It was by this means that the costumes ultimately came in possession of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

INDIAN NOTES

In answer to the query of why the Arawana dance was veiled in such secrecy, the chief replied that women are not allowed to know everything, as they talk too much. These Indians believe that the authority and superiority of man must be maintained, and that these festivals impress the woman with her inferiority. 535 562

FRANCIS GOW-SMITH